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621 622 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 [622] 193 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses. Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono* 554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was 554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange- 264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the 574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 565 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu*; while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu* were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called hand some. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild.

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers.

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family.

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

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tooing, a master tattooer taught his son the art if he showed the ability and desired to follow the profession; but he likewise taught others who came to him and served an apprenticeship as assistants in the tattooing operations. An old woman still living on the island of Fata Hiva, who is today recognized as a *tuhuna ha'akekai*, acquired her knowledge of legends and chants from her mother who built a special, consecrated house (*oho au*) in which to teach her daughter. This woman's mother had similarly become a *tuhuna ha'akekai* by being taught by her mother. The woman now living also built an *oho au* for the purpose of teaching her daughter but the girl was too stupid and would not learn. In other words, this is an example of direct family inheritance of this type of learning in the female line. I know of a male *tuhuna* that passed on his learning to his granddaughter, and of still another who passed it on to a niece and her husband. The only living tattooing artist (*tuhuna patu tiki*) now in the Marquesas, a very old man, whose designs are still to be seen on a number of natives, learned his art by becoming apprenticed to a man to whom he was related. The old man himself told me, however, that the art of tattooing was most commonly inherited in the male line from father to son, but that it could also be practiced by any man who had the talent to learn the designs by observation and to become proficient as an apprentice, whose duty it was to assist the tattooing master in the operation. When the master tattooer was convinced that such an apprentice had demonstrated his proficiency, the apprentice himself was accepted as a *tuhuna*. That is, I say, there was a tendency toward direct inheritance but no fixed rule regarding it and no restriction of knowledge to particular families.

TUHUNA AS A CLASS

Food, cloth, ornaments, and the like, were given to *tuhuna* as payment for the practice of their profession and for their labor. The wealth thus acquired by the *tuhuna* and the prestige that their knowledge and skill gave them, brought it about that they constituted virtually a class by themselves. As a class they had very definite ceremonial and political functions. In the rites of major importance the *tuhuna* furnished from their ranks the choruses of old men who intoned the sacred chants. As the wise old men of the tribe the *tuhuna* served a very definite function in tribal matters as political advisors. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the social order that there were especial *tuhuna* whose whole function consisted in being executives of the chief. *Tuhuna* did not go to war, but were men who had served as warriors in their younger days. The *tuhuna* who ranked above all others and who served the most important tribal function was the *tuhuna o'ono*, master chanter, tribal bard, or cere-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

463 565 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 464 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized enterprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

46 784 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences. The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 [187] There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium.

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion.

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . .

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tenuvu* (*ha'u*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked.

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by suc- 565
cession, or in any other way. There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and re- 565
semble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing 342
the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior [356]
of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264]
the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565
or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351
the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. The magazines are [287]
merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Households were graded
in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households.

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed.

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house.